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Localising, Translating and Stretching Conduct

Video as a Technology for Media Therapeutics

McIlvenny, Paul

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TITLE

Localising, Translating and Stretching Conduct: Video as a Technology for Media Therapeutics

AUTHOR

Paul McIlvenny

INTRODUCTION

Rather than debate the relations between the already constituted dichotomies of local/global, micro/macro, institutional/everyday or space/place, this paper takes a relativistic approach that topicalises how such distinctions of scale, association and abstraction are practised, worked up and translated in and across nexus of practice. In order to do this, conversation analysis (CA) and mediated discourse analysis (MDA) are drawn upon in combination with actor-network theory (ANT) and contemporary theories of space, governmentality and agential realism. I will assume a knowledge of conversation analysis, but I will briefly introduce the theoretical background and the most relevant (and provocative) concepts of MDA, ANT, agential realism and governmentality. My goal is to suggest that some of what we might call the building blocks of 'context' – namely, individual, space, materiality and experience – are deeply problematic. If they are, then simply invoking 'a context' in analysis is troubling. Instead, I suggest that we need to examine more closely how participants translate and circulate conduct at the non-scalar interface between technologies of power and technologies of the self. I illustrate an attempt to do this using an example from a reality TV programme.

INTERDISCIPLINARY THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In order to be a little provocative, I would like to introduce the following set of quotations, which I feel indicate that a careful rethink is needed of the notions of the individual (the subject) and interaction, especially in relation to power, materiality and practice.

1. "The individual is not to be conceived as a sort of elementary nucleus, a primitive atom, a multiple and inert material on which power comes to fasten or against which it happens to strike, and in so doing subdues or crushes individuals. In fact, it is already one of the prime effects of power that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires come to be identified and constituted as individuals. The individual, that is, is not the *vis-à-vis* of power; it is, I believe, one of its prime effects. The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely to the extent to which it is that effect, it is the element of its articulation. The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle" (Foucault 1980: 98).
2. "You are a longitude and a latitude, a set of speeds and slownesses between uniformed particles, a set of nonsubjectified affects. You have the individuality of a day, a season, a year, a *life* (regardless of its duration) – a climate, a wind, a fog, a swarm, a pack (regardless of its singularity). Or at least you can have it, you can reach it" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 162).
3. "We become subjects through the way in which we are caught up in the circulation of that which will make us 'it' – the 'moving back and forth of the "I" '. Sociality is neither

an atomistic adding together of individuals, nor an abstract contractual arrangement. It is a collectivity assembled and held together by the circulation of an object” (Brown 2002: 21-2).

4. “These links between the molar and the molecular have taken a variety of forms, not merely or principally paternalistic attempts at the micro-management of conduct, but more complex and subtle procedures for establishing a delicate and complex web of affiliations between thousands of habits of which human beings are composed – movements, gestures, combinations, associations, passions, satisfactions, exhaustions, aspirations, contemplations – and the wealth, tranquillity, efficiency, economy, glory of the collective body” (Rose 1999: 6).
5. “The production of communities of practice as bounded membership entities of inclusion and exclusion out of the nexus of practice must be studied to see how the transformation from practice, action and habitus to person, characteristics and identity is performed through discursive practices and other practices of technologisation and objectivisation” (Scollon 2001: 158).
6. “We should be able to observe empirically how an anonymous and generic body is made to be a person: the more intense the shower of offers of subjectivities, the more interiority you get. Subjects are no more autochthonous than face-to-face interactions. They, too, depend on the flood of entities allowing them to exist. To be an ‘actor’ is now at last a totally artificial and fully traceable gathering” (Latour 2005: 208).

Furthermore, Latour (2005) argues that we must be critical of the notion of *local* interaction on at least five counts.¹ In a critique of *methodological interactionism*, he warns that:

- a. No interaction is *isotopic* – “What is acting at the same moment in any place is coming from many other places, many distant materials, and many faraway actors” (200).
- b. No interaction is *synchronic* – Time is always folded, shifting the burden to longer or shorter-lasting entities.
- c. Interactions are not *synoptic* – “Very few of the participants in a given course of action are simultaneously visible at any given point” (201).
- d. Interactions are not *homogeneous* – “the relays through which action is carried out do not have the same material quality all along” (201).

¹ In a rather ironic comment, Latour (2003: 40) proposes that “to put it simply, ANT [actor-network theory] is a direct descendant of Garfinkel’s ethnomethodology. One could say that it is a hybridisation of Garfinkel for humans and Greimas for nonhumans — in fact, I discovered recently that it is an illegitimate grandchild of Gabriel Tarde.”

- e. Interactions are not *isobaric* – some participants are pressing strongly, while others are sunk into bodily habits or black-boxed.

We can ask of what consequence for CA are these critiques of our notions of the individual and interaction?

Latour (2005) is arguing for a *relativistic* framework for understanding the ‘local’ (interaction). In most situations, “actions will be interfered with by heterogeneous entities that don’t have the same local presence, don’t come from the same time, are not visible at once, and don’t press upon them with the same weight” (202). From a pre-relativistic standpoint, an ‘interaction’ is “a site so nicely framed by localisers behaving as intermediaries that it can be viewed, without too much trouble, as ‘taking place locally’” (202). He is not arguing that the word ‘interaction’ was badly chosen. However, the number and type of ‘actions’ and the span of their ‘inter’ relations has been vastly underestimated. Thus, for ANT, if one stretches any given inter-action, it becomes an actor-network. In the example I introduce later, we see exactly how participants can apparently localise, translate and stretch conduct using the sociotechnology of video, and how they may gain agency as a result. Following Bruno Latour’s ‘flatland’ dictum that we *localise the global, distribute the local and connect the sites*, the analysis presented in this paper traces how the local and the global circulate in sites of engagement, and how they become stabilised as scalar in the mediation of action (eg. how the local gets localised). In Latour’s (2005: 196) terms, this is part and parcel of how “face-to-face interactions should be taken... as the terminus point of a great number of agencies swarming toward them.” Latour contends that the feeling that things are *already* ‘in place’ is always a result of “the transportation of a site into another one at another time, which is produced by someone else through subtle or radical changes in the ways new types of non-social agencies are mobilised. Others’ actions continue to be carried out at some distance, but through the relay of new types of mediators” (193-4). Similarly, mediated discourse analysis argues that mediated actions are *emplaced* and *place-forming*, and they are often *interspatial* and *translocal*. I use the concept of *interspatiality* here to refer to the ways in which spaces and their properties are translated into other space-times or that spaces borrow from other space-times. Hence, the interactions that take place in a setting cannot be divorced (as a contextual background) from both the architecture and artifacts that afford action as well as the habitus (Bourdieu 2002) or historical bodies (Scollon & Scollon 2004) of those participants.

But we cannot even let *matter* rest as a contextual background. Barad (2007) proposes an *agential realist* account, in which discursive practices are specific material (re)configurings of the world through which local determinations of boundaries, properties, and meanings are differentially enacted. That is, discursive practices are ongoing agential intra-actions of the world through which local determinacy is enacted within the phenomena produced. Discursive practices are causal intra-actions — they enact local causal structures through which one “component” (the “effect”) of the phenomenon is marked by another “component” (the “cause”) in their differential articulation. Meaning is not a property of individual words or groups of words but an ongoing performance of the world in its differential intelligibility. Therefore, rather than inter-action – action between already constituted entities – Barad suggests we think of intra-action – how action and entities/matter are differentially articulated.

A recent, richly theoretical approach to *memory and experience* in social psychology has also suggested that CA on its own has not, and cannot, go far enough. Middleton & Brown (2005) demonstrate the clout of a CA approach to communicating experience, but they find we need

to overcome the “tendency to treat continuity between past and present as something that is worked up anew every time via the rhetorical bits and bobs of the present interaction” (100). They argue cogently that we need to also examine how continuity and succession are threaded through practices of remembering. How is experience projected, localised, objectified, collected, dispersed and cut? In a move similar to Barad’s, they contend that we can “analyse the circulation and dispersal of mediating artefacts as they produce chains of networks of translation, but with the proviso that what is thereby tied together is not merely the capacity to act, but also the respective durations of people and artefacts” (208).

Lastly, I briefly introduce the notion of technologies of the self as a way to better understand the relations between the so-called micro and macro, not as structure but as performative. Nikolas Rose (1999) follows Foucault in arguing that disciplinary techniques may be embodied in an external regime of structured times, spaces, gazes and hierarchies. However, “discipline seeks to reshape the ways in which each individual, at some future point, will conduct him- or herself in a space of regulated freedom” (22). What is lacking is a more subtle understanding of the powers of freedom that come with the assumption that “to govern is to presuppose the freedom of the governed”, to act upon action (Rose 1999: 4). Foucault’s suggestive later work on *governmentality*, the ethical subject and the technologies of the self have inspired scholars in many disciplines. Rose (no date) argues that if we assume that power is ‘action upon action’ (i.e. governmentality), then the proliferation of the therapeutic through our culture – for example, in the form of therapeutic language, therapeutic techniques, therapeutic scenarios – “has a role in fabricating us as certain kinds of persons: certain human kinds who attend to ourselves in certain ways, value particular aspects of ourselves, take certain things as our truths, whether these be our desire or our identity or our skills, and act on those things in order to lead our own lives” (Rose, no date). Hence, not only can we investigate what the everyday practices of discipline and liberty are, but also how they are assembled spatially and interactionally.

In a rough attempt to take on these challenging ideas, this paper considers the practices in which video technology is domesticated, not as a *panopticon* – an all encompassing representation of context in order to observe and discipline – but as a means to translate and circulate conduct at the interface between technologies of power and technologies of the self.

MATERIALS FOR ANALYSIS

The example is derived from a broader investigation of the quotidian *and* professional use of video technologies, and in particular the mediation of familial spaces and the work of governmentalisng parenting (ie. the conduct of parental conduct) through discursive, visual and spatial practices. Video replay has been used as a therapy tool in several therapeutic modes, eg. to do “interaction analysis” and to facilitate a positive relationship between the client and their conduct in the *Marte Meo* programme (Aarts 2000: 45), *Video Interaction Guidance* (VIG; Vik & Hafting 2006) and in the *Video Home Training* technique (Weiner et al 1994), as well as to help train therapists. In contrast to these uses of video to reinforce positive and successful parental conduct, it is often used on reality TV programmes to highlight problems and unsuccessful actions by the parents.

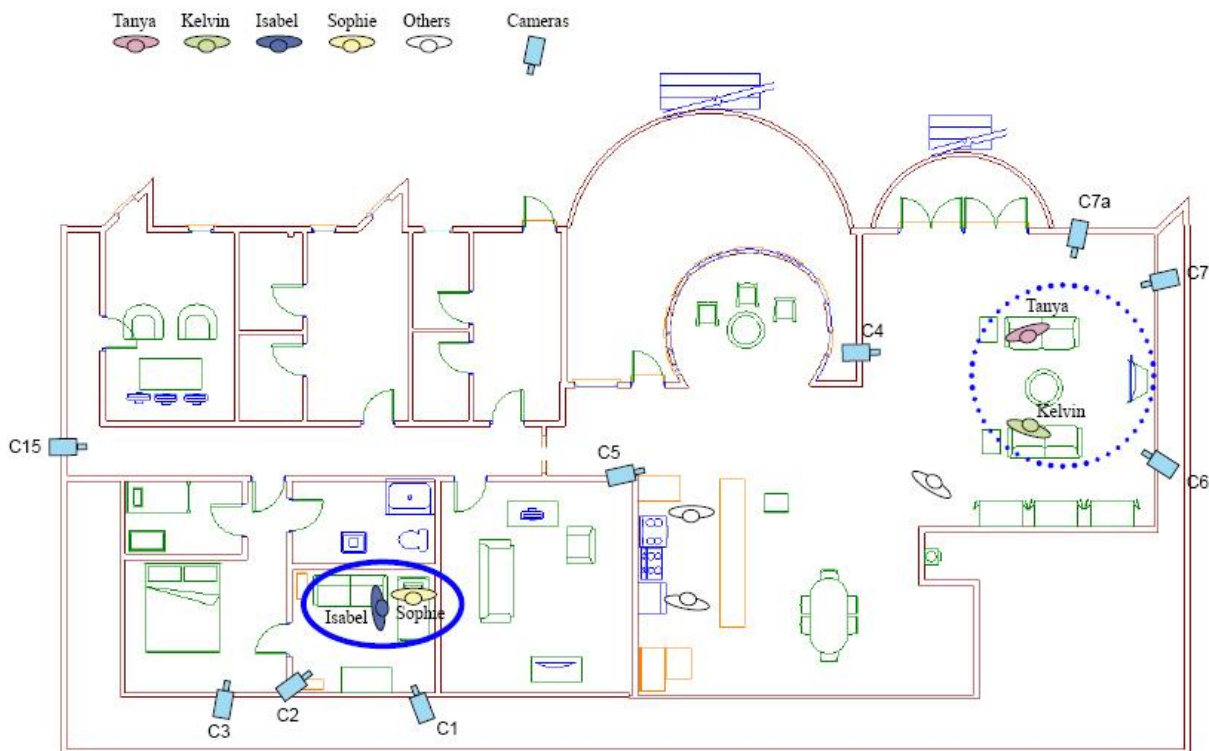
Since 2003, British television has promoted a new set of media therapeutic genres based on the spectacle of the failed parenting of so-called ‘problem’ children. What is significant in these reality TV programmes is the pervasive use of language, talk, technology and space to govern parenting practices. This paper highlights the prominent use of video recording technology in many of these programmes, such as *The House of Tiny Tearaways*. As a supplement to the talk

of therapy and counselling, each programme relies heavily on routine audiovisual surveillance and playback – such as CCTV monitoring, live video relay and video prompted recall. Other cases of television programmes that routinely use video technology in innovative ways during active counselling include *Supernanny* (video-prompted recall), *Little Angels* (live video relay + coaching), *Driving Mum and Dad Mad* (group video-prompted recall) and *Honey, We're Killing the Kids* (video morphing).

What is 'taking place' in these settings? In many ways, which Latour (2005) points to, the locality and domesticity of the space of the house is an achievement or an assemblage. The events that take place in the HTT house are *emplaced* and *place-forming*, and they are often *interspatial* and *translocal*. I use the concept of *interspatiality* here to refer to the ways in which spaces and their properties are translated into other space-times or that spaces borrow from other space-times. This is comparable to the concepts of *interdiscursivity* (Fairclough 2003) and *interperformativity* (Scollon 1997) – the interaction and appropriation of practices – that relate discourse and performance/practice in specific ways (eg. by way of genre chains) to discourses and performances or practices in other space-times.

DATA FRAGMENT

The data I draw upon in this chapter comprises key events mediated in the television programme *The House of Tiny Tearaways* that feature one or more members of the Gwilliam family. An excerpt is used to highlight several key phenomena: 1) practices of video observation and translocality; 2) use of video to visualise and localise talk and action; and 3) the translating, stretching and cutting of experience in and through video technologies. In a practice session on the third night, the parents, especially Isabel (I), are trying to put their seven-year-old daughter Sophie (S) to sleep in her own bed using the techniques that Tanya has (T) suggested. While Isabel is putting Sophie to bed in Sophie's bedroom, Tanya and Kelvin (K) observe the mother and daughter remotely on the television monitor in the common room (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Plan of the house, cameras and participants

In the following excerpt, Example 1, we see some of the many attempts by Isabel that evening to return Sophie to bed. We know from the following day's sleep chart that Sophie got out of her bed at least twenty-five times the previous evening. We see only a handful of attempts in the broadcast episode. While observing the mediated interaction between Isabel and Sophie, Tanya and Kelvin offer small pieces of verbal advice to Isabel when she returns occasionally to the common area for assistance. The example starts with a voice-over (VO).

Example 1 - [HTT 2-1-3 - Gwilliam family practice + video commentary]

- 1 ((segway))
- 2 ((CAMERA shots of children sleeping in their beds))
- 3 VO: another day's over in the house (.) and all the children are sleeping
- 4 heavily (.) one can say all except for sophie
- 5 ((CAMERA C1 switch to I putting S to bed leaning over and whispering))
- 6 I: °don't forget about that box
- 7 //() °
- 8 VO: //tanya thinks that it could be useful for the gwilliams couple
- 9 to see what happens this evening at bedtime on the
- 10 other side of the door
- 11 I: °joshua is asleep alright°
- 12 ((CAMERA C4 switch to living room))
- 13 VO: while isabel fights with sophie kelvin sits and watches
- 14 the drama unfold

15 ((I leaves the bedroom))
 16 ((CAMERA C1 switch to bedroom: S is in bed))
 17 ((door click))
 18 ((S gets out of bed and leaves the bedroom))
 19 ((CAMERA C3 switch to S reaching the external door))
 20 ((S opens the door and peeks out))
 21 ((I comes and takes her back to bed by the hand))
 22 S: ((sobs))
 23 ((CAMERA C6 switch to T watching the monitor))
 24 ((CAMERA C7 switch to K watching the monitor))
 25 S: °mummy° ((whines))
 26 ((CAMERA C1 switch to I leading S back to bed))
 27 ((I puts S in bed and walks out of the bedroom))
 28 ((door click))
 29 ((S gets up quickly and leaves the bedroom))
 30 ((door shuts firmly))
 31 ((CAMERA C3 switch to S reaching the external door))
 32 ((S opens door))
 33 ((CAMERA C7 switch to I returning to the common room))
 34 T: she's (out again) •h er-
 35 ((I turns to go back to the bedroom))
 36 T: this time just sit on the bed.
 37 (1.0)
 38 ((CAMERA C6 switch to I standing listening to T))
 39 T: it's g- it's the no- the noise of the //door maybe this is a bit too much
 40 S: //(door shut))
 41 T: but just sit on the bed.
 42 I: on my bed yeah
 43 ((I turns and heads back to the bedroom))
 44 T: yeah, but don't let her see you
 45 ((CAMERA C6 switch to T watching the monitor))
 46 ((CAMERA C7 switch to K watching the monitor))
 47 ((CAMERA C3 switch to I entering the bedroom to meet S))
 48 ((I shuts door))
 49 S: ((sobs))
 50 ((CAMERA C1 switch to I taking S to bed; pan across room))
 51 ((I puts S in bed and walks out of the room))
 52 ((I lies on her own bed in the adjacent room))
 53 ((CAMERA C2 switch to S moving down her bed))
 54 ((S moves down her bed and looks for I in the adjacent room))
 55 ((CAMERA C3 switch to I lying on bed))
 56 ((CAMERA C2 switch to S at the end of her bed))
 57 ((CAMERA C5 switch to K watching the monitor: pans out))
 58 T: she saw her mu:m's sho:es
 59 K: yeah

60 ((CAMERA C1 switch to medium close up of S moving out of her bed))
 61 ((CAMERA C7 switch to K watching the monitor))
 62 K: [looks like er-]
 63 T: [it's it's] beginning to become a bit of a game
 64 ((CAMERA C2 switch to I putting S back into bed))
 65 S: ((sobs))
 66 ((CAMERA C6 switch to T in the common room))
 67 T: tomorrow morning bless her heart she's gonna be the one who's
 68 not gonna get anything

In this example, we find that a material and discursive infrastructure of embedded front/back regions (Goffman 1959) is being maintained as follows:

- Front region 1: Isabel monitors Sophie in the bedroom.² The observers of the performance, Kelvin and Tanya, are in the common room.
 - Back region 1: The common room to which Isabel returns for guidance and support. This is closed to the children during this performance.
 - Front region 2: The common room in which parents and psychologist observe and discuss parentcraft techniques.
 - Back region 2: The set in which the production crew observe and record both front/back regions 1 and front region 2. This is closed to parents and viewers.

But, of course, these are not already *in place*, ie. predetermined regions that structure the action that takes place within them. The spaces of interaction and observation are contingent multimodal infrastructures that are worked on to keep the front/back regions distinctly articulated and localised.³ Articulators and localisers (Latour 2005) are the transported presence of places into other ones mediated by artifacts, such as the two-way mirrors, the walls, the doors, the floor, the cameras, the beds, the sofa and so on. Transitions between regions are marked and accountable. We see this clearly when Sophie attempts to cross the threshold of the door to the corridor (eg. on lines 18-27) and is immediately escorted back to bed.

In this example, Sophie exploits the affordances of multimodality, viz. sound and vision. First, the door to the corridor *audibly* closes or opens (lines 17, 28, 30 and 40). Second, the open door from her bedroom to the parent's bedroom, as well as the two-way mirrors on the wall of her bedroom, afford line of sight (lines 52-56). Moreover, there are afforded many opportunities for play and agency in the technologised domestic space of the HTT house. Not

² We might also allow that the Gwilliam family's private living space is temporarily configured as a front/back region, in which Sophie performs for an observer (her mother) every time she 'breaks out' into the front region (after she leaves her own bedroom).

³ We need to be careful not to assume the relationship between 'front' and 'back' or 'local' and 'global' is fixed and that humans on their own are the locus of this relationship. Latour (2005: 194) interrogates the notion of 'local' and argues that "what has been designated by the term 'local interaction' is the assemblage of all the *other* local interactions distributed elsewhere in time and space, which have been brought to bear on the scene through the relays of various non-human actors. It is the transported presence of places into other ones that I call *articulators* or *localisers*" (194). Thus, locals are *localised*, and places are *placed*.

only play with artifacts and with each other, but also play with the situated technologies of the house. Indeed, Tanya and Kelvin notice that “it's beginning to become a bit of a game” (lines 62-3). As we shall see in the next excerpt, Sophie exploits the affordances of the surveillance systems that pervade the HTT house.

After repeated attempts by Isabel to return Sophie to bed, illustrated in the previous segment, Sophie alters the routine in the next excerpt, Example 2.

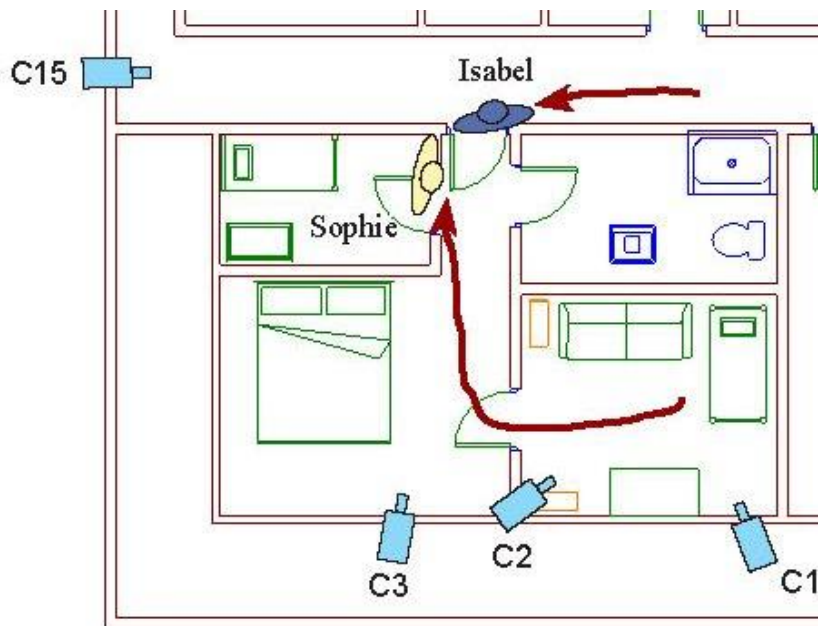
Example 2 - [HTT 2-1-3 - Gwilliam family practice + video commentary]

67 T: tomorrow morning bless her heart she's gonna be the one who's
68 not gonna get anything
69 ((CAMERA C3 switch to S creeping up to the external door))
70 ((S approaches door))
71 ((S hides behind door))
72 ((I opens door and looks in but sees nothing))
73 ((S gestures to camera C3: thumbs up: shakes her hand by her mouth))
74 ((CAMERA C7 switch to K))
75 K: ((K puts his finger to his mouth in apparent imitation
76 of S's gesture))
77 she went like that
78 ((all: laughter))
79 (K:) ((thumbs up))
80 ((all: laughter))
81 K: i've never seen 'owt like it.
82 ((CAMERA C3 switch to I taking S back to bed again))
83 ((CAMERA C7 switch to K in the common room))
84 K: that was out of order, innit, ((K points to the monitor))
85 [that.
86 T: [well this is bad behaviour this is rea:lly nau:ghty
87 ((CAMERA C7 switch to I returning to the common room))
88 T: i think you both go in there
89 ((CAMERA C6 switch to medium close up of T))
90 and say you've lost your treat in the morning (1.0)
91 ((CAMERA C7a switch to K looking at monitor))
92 and (.) all the ch- all the children
93 are having a (.) special treat tomorrow.
94 ((CAMERA C7 switch to medium close up of I))
95 and if you don't go in your bed and stay in your bed now
96 you will sta:nd and wa:tch it at the window but you wo:n't
97 be allow:ed.
98 ((CAMERA C6 switch to T))
99 T: she's playing a game with you
100 you've [got to show her °you are in] control°
101 K: [she stood behind the door]
102 ((CAMERA C7 switch to the parents walking to the bedroom together))
103 K: ((gestures)) and smiled at the camera

104 K: hhhuhuh
 105 I: ↑did she
 106 ((CAMERA C7a switch to T))
 107 T: sophie (2.0)
 108 ((CAMERA C6 switch to close up of T))
 109 you are in bi::g trouble
 110 ((CAMERA C3 switch to I and K returning to the bedroom with S))
 111 ((CAMERA C2 switch to I and K putting S to bed))
 112 I: for a start sofie (1.0)
 113 I: your [morning tre:at:]
 114 K: [are you listening]
 115 K: are [you listening]
 116 I: [is go:]ne
 117 I: already
 118 ((CAMERA C1 switch to K putting S in her bed))
 119 K: all the children (.) are gonna have a special treat tomorrow
 120 (1.0)
 121 K: and you're going to stand there, ((K wags finger)) (.)
 122 and you're gonna watch 'em, ((K wags finger))
 123 while they have a special treat.
 124 (1.0)
 125 K: ((K wags finger)) now this is not 'coz you're upset
 126 it's because you're being very nau:ghty.
 127 (1.0)
 128 now lie down, ((K wags finger))
 129 (1.2)
 130 in your bed.
 131 (1.2) ((K adjusts bed covers over S))
 132 I: you don't get out again no:w
 133 (0.5)
 134 S: (but you go out the roo::m) ((crying voice))
 135 ((CAMERA C2 switch to parents leaving the bedroom))
 136 ((CAMERA C3 switch to parents going to the external door))
 137 (1.8)
 138 S: •heHUHee
 139 (1.6)
 140 S: •H(n) OHOhoo
 141 ((CAMERA C2 switch to S running out of her bedroom))
 142 ((CAMERA C3a switch to a close-up of S standing at the door))
 143 ((CAMERA C3 switch to K approaching the bedroom door))
 144 K: now back in your bed
 145 ((CAMERA C2 switch to K putting S back in bed))
 146 S: (no i don't wanna

Up until this point (line 69), Sophie has always been caught either at her bedroom door or at the external door to the corridor when Isabel returns to the private family space, but in this case as she approaches the external door she ducks behind it just before her mother opens it from the other side (see Figure 2). Standing at the doorway entrance, Isabel scans the bedroom for her daughter, sees nothing, and then retreats to the outside corridor.

Figure 2: lines 70-74



Just after Isabel retreats, Sophie turns (while behind the door) to look towards the wall at the other end of the room, where there is a two-way mirror, and playfully gestures to (and manufactures) her assembled audience. Of course, behind the mirror is a hidden video camera (C3) recording the scene. This is illustrated in the 'photo-story' transcript in Figure 3, in which we see Sophie gesture knowingly to the video camera. Sophie's 'thumbs up' gesture, which is close to her mouth, combined with her smile to the camera, is a potent multimodal act, as follows:

- It is recipient-designed for an unseen virtual observer.
- It displays an orientation to prior conduct.
- It pursues complicity.
- It invites a next action on the part of the virtual observer.
- It recasts established participation frameworks.

Given that the camera is hidden behind the two-way mirror, Sophie demonstrates an awareness of the surveillance infrastructure and its possibilities, as well as displaying the interactional relevance of just prior conduct to a virtual observer. She also constructs the observer as complicit in her initiation of a game of hide and seek that she is now having with her mother ("it's just a game", exclaim Tanya and the presenter at one point).

Figure 3: Lines 64-81



Sophie's gesture is *interspatial* because it short-circuits the embedded front/back regions that had been established up to now.⁴ In fact, she bypasses Back region 1 from which she was formerly

⁴ The gesture is comparable to the *mots d'ordre* (Deleuze & Guattari 1987) – an order word – which are performative utterances with the affective force of incorporating the recipient into the recollected zone of personal relations, which suddenly emerges as a whole set of categories, practices and relationships. These are singular events that gather together many scales and actors. In this case, we might call it a *geste d'ordre*, or order gesture.

excluded. The artifice of the framing of regions, especially the distinction between the performance frontstage and the inaccessible backstage, has been shattered in a very noticeable and accountable fashion. As a result of the gesture, we find the following contingent embedding of regions:

- Front region 1: Sophie controls the bedroom and sutures front regions 1 and 2
- Front region 2: Tanya and Kelvin – complicit with Sophie – observe Isabel
 - Back region 2: The production crew observe and record both

Hence, we find that the gesture attempts to reorganise the participation frameworks that are entailed. Before the gesture, mother and daughter were in an antagonistic participation framework, while the parent(s), especially Kelvin, were in a therapeutic participation framework with Tanya the psychologist. After the gesture, the daughter and the observers (Kelvin, Tanya and the viewers) are caught in a 'game' participation framework with the mother as the object of their joint attention.

Immediately after Sophie's performance of the interspatial gesture when she is behind the door, Kelvin, who is watching the live video relay in the common room, mimics the gesture and indexes it with his utterance "she went like that". Instead of a 'thumbs up' gesture, he mimics a 'hush' gesture with the index finger drawn up to pursed lips. A moment later, though this is unclear on the videotape, he says "thumbs up". This suggests that Kelvin reports that he sees a two-part gesture from Sophie: first, a 'hush' gesture, followed by a 'thumbs up' gesture. Only the first is directly quoted. The second is described verbally. To Kelvin, this is bad behaviour, but still humorous (lines 81-86). However, to the mother entrapped in 'the game' (it is repeatedly referred to as a game both during and after the event), the interactional rupture of two distinct spaces (the space of action and the space of observation) with the interspatial gesture of her seven year-old daughter leads to the mother's guided 'discovery' that her daughter is exploiting her feelings of dependency.

This relativistic event is an example of a kind of 'dislocalisation' – a (re)distributed locality (Latour 2005) – and a reframing in which the embedded front/back regions are ruptured interactionally. Following Latour, Cooren et al (2005: 278) argue that "while Garfinkel and other ethnomethodologists keep *centering* on humans to account for these effects of embodiment, we propose to *decenter* the analysis by showing how humans share this incarnation and much of their agency with the artifacts they produce. ... we could then specify that yes indeed, we need to start from practical achievement, but that such achievement is not only local, but also dislocal, that it is not purely endogenous, but also exogenous, not only naturally organized, but also technologically organized." That is, in order to gain agency, Sophie playfully stretches the inter-action, creating a more extensive actor-network, which both performs and interlaces two distinct spaces – the embedded front regions – in an ironical fashion. This is a playful use of space and surveillance in which the infrastructure of surreptitious observation is short-circuited. However, for this apparent infraction, she is disciplined in a number of ways over the course of the evening and the next day.

CONCLUSION

These television programmes and the use of video technology that they incorporate open up an unreal 'laboratory' site for parents to better register and discriminate their own experience and their child's conduct (and its effects) as part of a moral economy. Latour (2004) proposes an alternative understanding of what it is to have a body, of how a body learns to be affected "by

hitherto unregistrable differences through the mediation of an artificially created set-up” (209). In the HTT house, the parents develop ‘a nose’ for registering contrasting behaviours, much as one can develop ‘a nose’ in the perfume industry through the use of an odour kit (*malettes à odeurs*). The kit used in HTT comprises the house itself, its lived architecture and fixtures, its spatial arrangements, the other families, the CCTV surveillance and video replay, as well as the therapist’s interventions. Hence, we may also see HTT as an experiment in governance (of the parents as well as of the children), which promotes a proliferation of technologies of the self. It is no coincidence, as Donzelot (1977/97) and Rose (1989/1999) point out, that the family is and has been for quite some while one of the prime relays for the translation of governance practices and policies between the individual and the state. In advanced liberal democracies, according to Rose (1989/1999: 208), the “parents are bound into the language and evaluations of expertise at the very moment they are assured of their freedom and autonomy.”

TRANSCRIPTION

Several transcription conventions or formats are used to present a printed version of the audiovisual modalities of the television programme. Hand-drawn images (traced from the video frame stills) are used to visually highlight the actions and talk in space and over time. The transcription conventions are as follows:

A:	Current speaker
VO:	Voice over (translation from Danish; italicised)
CAPS	Louder than surrounding speech
°dfhgh°	Quieter than surrounding speech
>fghjh<	Faster than surrounding speech
<dfghd>	Slower than surrounding speech
erm:	Prolongation of sound
<u>yes</u>	Syllable or word is stressed
.	Terminating intonation
,	Continuing intonation
?	Question intonation
↑	Higher pitch onset
(1.0)	A one second silence
(.)	A micropause (roughly 0.2 sec)
bu-	Stop or cut-off
•h	Inbreath
huh, hah, heh	Laugh particle
hhhh, HHHH	Laughter, Loud laughter
()	Untranscribable
(fdgh)	Transcriber's guess
(())	Comments by the transcriber
((camera))	Comments by the transcriber on camera editing (times roman font)
=	Latched utterance

oo[oooo]	Overlap onset and finish points
[aaaa]aa	
xx//xxxxx	Simultaneous actions in two distinct spaces
//bbbbbb	

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